

A NEW FREEZE

(A Collection of Material on Recent Developments  
in Ukrainian Soviet Literature)

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Political Background

In late autumn 1962, on the occasion of the traditional celebrations of the Anniversary of the October Revolution, there was much emphasis placed on the allegation that the Ukrainian SSR remained a real sovereign socialist state. Any assertions to the contrary were simply decried and countervailed.

Among others, the No. 5, September-October 1962, issue of Radianske Pravo (Soviet Law), in its editorial, The Great Socialist Revolution and the Establishment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist State stated:

"... The Great October Socialist Revolution liquidated the national oppression of peoples and made possible the self-determination of formerly enslaved nations all the way to their separation and establishment of sovereign nations. The revolution opened a wide vista to the political, economic and cultural development of all nationalities of the USSR.

"Even before the Great October Revolution, V.I. Lenin proposed and argued for a program plan on the right of nations to self-determination and establishment of independent states as a tenet of the nationality policy of the Communist Party. After the Great October Revolution this principle found its vivid expression in a number of legislative acts which cemented the liquidation of the pre-revolutionary regime and racial and national oppression and discrimination; realization of full equality of all races and nationalities, and full right of all nations to free political self-determination all the way to separation and the establishment of an independent state...

"The Soviet Government of Russia, in the early months of the revolution, recognized in its decrees the national and state independence of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Finnish, Polish, Armenian, Georgian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian

and other peoples of Russia...

"The Bolsheviks of the Ukraine headed the struggle of the toiling masses for the overthrow of the Provisional Government and of the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Central Rada, and for the transfer of all power to the Soviets...

"On the initiative of V.I. Lenin, the Soviet of People's Commissars of Soviet Russia adopted on December 16, 1917, the Manifesto to the Ukrainian People with Ultimatum Demands to the Ukrainian Rada. By this manifesto, the Soviet of People's Commissars, acting in the interests of unity and brotherly alliance of the workers and all toilers in the struggle for socialism, once again emphasized the right of self-determination of all nations. The Soviet of People's Commissars recognized the Ukrainian Republic, and its right to secede from Russia or to enter into a treaty with the Russian Republic on a federative or similar relationship between them. The emphasis in this document was as follows: Everything pertaining to national rights and national independence of the Ukrainian people is recognized by us, the Soviet of People's Commissars, as of now, without limitations and absolutely.

"The First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets opened in Kiev on December 17, 1917. About 130 delegates were to attend the Congress, but at the same time the Congress was attended by nearly 2,000 representatives of the rich-peasant Associations summoned by the Central Rada, Petlura's armed units and bourgeois nationalist parties which wrecked the work of the Congress. On motion of the Bolsheviks, 124 delegates to the Congress and 49 delegates from local Soviets, moved the session to Kharkiv, where they joined with the 3rd Congress of Soviets of the Donbas and Kryvbas and formed a united All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. The total number of delegates to the

Congress was nearly 200 persons, a majority being Bolsheviks who represented nearly all Ukraine.

"On December 24, 1917, the First All-Ukrainian Congress proclaimed Ukraine a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, and elected the highest body of state authority to act during the period between Congresses of Soviets - the Central Executive Committee. The CEC created the first Soviet Government of Ukraine - the People's Secretariat. The Congress adopted a resolution on the self-determination of Ukraine, recognizing the Ukrainian Republic a federative part of the Russian Republic...

"As early as the period of the civil war, V.I. Lenin proposed the idea of a Union of Soviet Republics as the form of state unity of different nations. Since the middle of 1922, in Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, there was a widespread movement among the workers of the Soviet republics to unite in a single union state. The workers unanimously supported the Leninist idea of creating a multinational state and expressed themselves in favor of uniting Soviet Ukraine with other brotherly republics in the Union of SSR. The 7th All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, held on December 10-14, 1922, unanimously approved the Declaration of the Establishment of the Union of SSR and the Fundamentals of the Constitution of the USSR. These resolutions of the Congress were an expression of the wish and desire of the toiling masses of the UkSSR to unite with the Russian and other brotherly peoples in a single union state. Thus, the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets made a great contribution to the cause of establishing the Soviet Union.

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded on December 30, 1922; this was the first socialist multinational state in the world. The Soviet

Republics, united on a voluntary and equal basis in a single state, fully preserved their national independence, remaining sovereign states, and increasing their strength and power extraordinarily. The voluntary surrender of their important sovereign rights to the Union as a result of the freely expressed will of the peoples of these republics was an act the purpose of which was for all these republics to enjoy as equals all the advantages of the Union of SSSR in the interest of maximum broadening and strengthening of their sovereignty. The sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR as one of the Union republics within the USSR manifests itself in the following: the right to vote on its own Constitution which conforms with the basic tenets of the Constitution of the USSR, but is not subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; the right to establish its own supreme organs of state authority and a Government of the Republic which are the direct exponents and bearers of the sovereignty of the UkSSR; the right to territorial supremacy; the right to enter into direct relations with foreign countries; equal right with the other Union republics to full representation in the state organs and Government of the Union of SSR; the right to confer citizenship of the UkSSR; the right to legislate within the limits of competences determined by the Constitution of the USSR and Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. One of the basic constitutional guarantees of the sovereignty of the UkSSR and of the other Union republics is its right to freely secede from the Union of SSR. This right is reserved in the Constitution of the USSR and correspondingly in Section 14 of the Constitution of the UkSSR. This inalienable right of every republic which was guaranteed at the time of their voluntary accession to a single Union state, cannot be repealed, changed or limited by the All-Union authorities.

"The bourgeois ideologists, and particularly the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have, from the very first days of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the Ukrainian Soviet state, resorted to falsification of history, attempted to distort historical events and facts, incorrectly report about the struggle of our people for a Soviet government and a socialist state, and publish libels against the nationality policy of the Communist Party. Lately the ruling imperialist circles of the United States and Canada and their lackeys, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have been spreading with increasing frequency false allegations to the effect that the Ukraine, having joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, allegedly lost its sovereignty. These malicious inventions are best corrected by reality, i.e., the union of Ukraine with other republics in a single union state. Its sovereignty and the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination were realized on the basis of a free agreement. The existence of a union state does not detract from the sovereignty of its component parts, the union republics. The relations among the union republics are founded on socialist cooperation in the branches of politics, economics and culture, and on friendly help and inviolate friendship among nations. Without the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics none of the union republics could defend its independence..."

The problem of independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian socialist state appeared completely different, however, when viewed not only from the factual developments in the past and at the present, but even from official resolutions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU that took place in Moscow in June 1963 and by those of the Plenum of CP Ukraine that took place in Kiev in early July 1963. Incidentally, both plenums marked only an intensified

campaign of the Kremlin against non-Russian nationalities, in particular against Ukrainian nationalism, and heralded further steps toward Russification of the Ukraine.

L.F. ILYICHEV, ~~Secretary of the Central Committee~~, in his report at the Plenum in Moscow on 18 June 1963, Nationalism and Nationalist Deviations in the Communist Parties, among other things stressed:

"The development of the socialist nations in the Soviet Union is proceeding along a path of <sup>being</sup> ~~drawn~~ drawing closer together and fraternal mutual aid and friendship.

"The social basis of nationalist ideology has been abolished in our country. This is a great victory for socialism.

"However, prejudices of nationalism are alive and strong; and one way or another they make themselves felt even under our circumstances. They show up in different forms. They can be observed in the desire of some workers to cut off something whether it is necessary or not, or to appropriate more for their republic or oblast to the detriment of the general interests of the state. Here the emphasis is on national exceptionality, the idealization of the past, and the cultivation of reactionary customs and predilections under a banner of national peculiarities. There are also attempts to play down the new socialist traditions which are common to all Soviet nations and the objective economic, cultural and political processes which unite the nations in a single socialist family.

"National conceit is alien to the Soviet people. The Party is decidedly fighting the remnants of nationalist chauvinistic ideology and does not permit national peculiarities to be either ignored or exaggerated.

"The growth of communism signifies a new stage in the development of national relations in the USSR, characterized by a continued drawing together of nations and reaching their complete unity. A continued economic and cultural flowering of the Soviet republics is unthinkable without an even closer and complete drawing together of nations..."

The same words were repeated at the Kiev plenum by A.D. SKABA, Secretary of the CC CP Ukraine, and finally fixed in the Resolutions of the Plenum of CP Ukraine on Tasks of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the Fulfillment of the Resolutions of the June Plenum of the CC CPSU on further Improvement of Ideological Work:

"The Party organizations of the Ukraine have accumulated valuable experience in political work among the masses and are better utilizing different forms and methods of educating the new Soviet man. They concentrate their attention on the problems of formulating a scientific outlook, training labor and strengthening communist morality; and they have increased the struggle against the man-hating bourgeois ideology, manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in particular, and old prejudices in the awareness of the people..."

"The most important and pressing task of ideological work is the instilling of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. It is imperative to improve the work of Party organization in training workers to a spirit of pride in their country, the great Lenin Party and the great achievement of the Soviet people in the building of a communist society. It is necessary to support the mutual enrichment of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR, and to wage relentless war against manifestations of nationalism and local bias, preaching of national peculiarity and isolation, idealization of the



of the past and praise for reactionary customs and practices...

"Particular attention should be paid to the production of books, plays, songs and motion pictures for children and young people, and to works which would expose the power of positive example, and the heroism and romanticism of the revolution of the Soviet people, and their labor. Affirming the position of socialist realism, the Leninist principles of partisanship and popularity in literature and art, we must firmly oppose the alien and hostile trends to Soviet art, both greyness and pedestrianism, for a great new communist art..."

The substance of "sovereignty" and "independence" themselves, as manifested for instance in cultural and language affairs, could perhaps best be judged by the proceedings of the Conference on the Culture of the Ukrainian Language which took place in Kiev on 11-15 February 1963. Demands put forward by its participants were limited to some postulates of cultural autonomy similar to, or at least not very different than those of certain underdeveloped peoples somewhere in Asia or Africa at the time of late colonialism. Yet strangely enough a nation of 40-million people has to fight today for the same cultural rights in allegedly its own state, the Ukrainian Socialist Republic.

Furthermore, the demands and resolutions of the Kiev Linguistic Conference have, in the meantime, actually been nullified by the Resolutions of the July Plenum of the CP Ukraine which declared an open fight against all manifestations of national peculiarity in cultural, economic and political life. However, let us first go to the Linguistic Conference itself. We quote from D. PORKHUN's article, The Fate of the Native Language, published in <sup>the March 1963 issue of</sup> Nasha Kultura (Our Culture), ~~of March 1963~~, the literary supplement of Nashe Slovo (Our Word), a Communist Ukrainian-language newspaper printed in Warsaw, Poland.

"At the Republican Conference on the questions of culture of the Ukrainian language which took place in Kiev on 11-25 February 1963, there were 27 papers read. Following every second or third paper there was a discussion on the papers presented. Particular interest and concern was demonstrated by those present on the question of the status of the Ukrainian language.

"... Facts were presented which proved that to date there have been no changes in the restrictions in the use of the Ukrainian language which were introduced at the time of the cult of personality by adherents of linguistic nihilism. Trying to deprive it of its scholarly character, the Ukrainian language was suppressed at that time in the sphere of technical sciences. Those who propounded a versatile development of Ukrainian culture and language were accused of bourgeois nationalism and often even punished.

"During the period of the cult of personality, in the 1930's and 1940's schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction in various raion republics were closed by anti-Leninists, despite the fact that they had been organized for the Ukrainian population outside the Ukraine on directives of V.I. Lenin and according to party resolutions.

"The absurd theory about the bilingualism of the nation was unanimously rejected at the Conference...

"Those present warmly and approvingly supported a proposition to be raised before the CC CPU and the government of the Ukraine on the following matters:

1. To introduce Ukrainian as the language of Instruction in all higher and middle special schools, in vocational training schools and in vocational training courses. To publish Ukrainian manuals for all these educational institutions. All pre-school institutions attended by Ukrainian

*Children were to receive Ukrainian as the language of their instruction.*

2. To introduce Ukrainian as a communication language in all institutions and enterprises, ~~in~~ the rail roads and in other branches of transport, <sup>and</sup> ~~in~~ commerce.

3. The Academy of Sciences, institutions and publishing houses to write and publish mainly in Ukrainian.

4. Cinema-studios to produce artistic and scientific films only in Ukrainian, and the films produced in other republics to be synchronized in Ukrainian.

"It was also suggested that Ukrainian schools be established in other Republics of the Union in which Ukrainian populations resided (as already done for Russian and other peoples in the Ukraine.)

"Those present also actively supported a proposition to establish at the Linguistic Institute a Committee for the Development of the Culture of the Ukrainian Language and its dissemination in all spheres of governmental and social life..."

"... This Conference was <sup>said</sup> stated to be the first of its kind and was to be followed by others in the future.

"... Of particular joy is the fact that youth (specialists of all branches of science) is showing deep interest in the Ukrainian language and its culture..."

V. KOPTILOV in Literaturna Ukraina of February 26, 1963, in his long article, For a High Culture of the Ukrainian Language, among other things stated the following:

"The Republic Scientific Conference created <sup>public</sup> ~~an~~ interest ~~among the~~ <sup>in the</sup> ~~public~~ of the capital city. The main hall of the University could not hold all persons seeking admissions..."

Literary Field

Simultaneously with a new drive toward Russification, following attacks by Khrushchev, Ilyichev and others in Moscow against liberal writers, poets and artists, in April-May 1963, a similar campaign in the Ukraine was directed mainly against young "creative workers." They were castigated not only for their Ukrainian patriotism but also for their liberalism, abstractionism, formalism and Westernism. Those attacks came not only from the Party and Government officials but even from their elderly colleagues, frequently even those who previously defended and praised them.

In the January 8, 1963, issue of Literaturna Ukraina, Andriy MALYSEKO stated the following in his article Closer to Human Hearts:

"... I wish to say a few words about the youngest Ukrainians in literature.

I love our young literature and I worry about it; it hurts me when I see the bad side of it, and heartens me to see the good. However, what is it that I dislike? We, the older generation, grew up in the great school of life, and we all understand that literary work is a difficult and long road on which one has to eat a lot of salt and stumble hurting one's knees to the flesh. When on this road, modesty is the prime feature of every talented artist.

"I often recall how we celebrated the 65th birthday of Maksym Ryl's'ky. With what modesty this brilliant master of poetry then spoke about his work. He said: 'I worry each day about what I have done. Is there anything done the way the people would like it done? Therefore, I always feel "semper tiro" - the perpetual novice'

"This was spoken by Ryl's'ky. This motto should be picked up by every young literary aspirant, tossing aside boastfulness, conceit and self-love...

"The young poets say that they love Bell and Remarque. They often emphasize that they learn from those writers, but they forget that not everything should be picked up from them. The Western European modernistic spirit can only spoil their taste. At the same time we rarely hear the young say that they like our famous Ukrainian artists, Oles' Honchar, Oleksandr Dovzhenko, Yuriy Yanovsky and others from whom there is a lot to learn.

"Some really gifted people have appeared among the young writers. This makes us very happy.

"Recently one of our newspapers unjustly criticized M. Vinhranovs'ky's poem, Beloved, because it was difficult to understand. In this verse the poet says that when he comes home from his beloved, he goes to sleep a man, and wakes up a tree and rustles his green leaves in the yard in the morning. What is there so hard to understand? In my opinion, this is quite natural. The boy fell in love with a girl, he goes without sleep all night and his whole world has changed. The boy looks out of the window, and he begins to believe that he has become a fine, rustling, green tree. Unfortunately, some do not understand this, but our great Shevchenko wrote these lines: 'The girl turned into a poplar in the wide field,' and no one has ever made any adverse comment about it.

"In the same verse the poet says that he, in love, goes to sleep a man, and wakes up a white cloud. Some might say that this lacks ideas, because he did not say in which direction the cloud is going. Wouldn't this be pedantism<sup>c</sup>? You, comrade critics, were surely once in love, and were you always sure whither will go the white cloud of your love? Could you have forgotten how much heartache was associated with this first feeling of yours?

"Many also oppose the image presented by Vinhranovsky: 'Roses are growing out of my throat.' This is beautiful! What, then, should we do with the following folk saying about an evil person: 'The sting of a serpent is growing out of her mouth.' We have long been accustomed to this expression and it surprises no one.

"The young poets have come up with some fine poetry and we cannot cross them out wholesale. There is a fine poem, for example, by Ye. Hutsalo, about King Lear. It seems that a collective farm was staging the Shakespearean tragedy, and when the daughters turned in their father, old Lear, the sensitive children on the farm started looking for a cap with which to cover the old man's gray head. What sensitivity and human kindness in this poem!

"Easily distinguishable among the young poetry is the poem by Ivan Drach about Shevchenko and his ballad Horse without a Rider. I was also moved by his Funeral of the Collective Farm Chairman. The dying chairman says: Forgive me, my aunt, that I did not have time to put a new roof over your house, I am guilty of this forever, so forgive me. And forgive me Beethoven, Rodin and Mozart for not <sup>becoming</sup> ~~getting~~ acquainted with you, because I did not have the time in my life. This is true poetry.

"I could say a lot more about the golden kernels of young poetry while separating them from the chaff. I am certain that our young Ukrainian poetry will continue to grow on this healthy road when it comes down to earth to human nature and human hearts."

MALYSEKO's article was actually a typical answer to the then mounting attacks by some elderly writers and poets against their younger colleagues. Here is a typical attack of one of the representatives of the old guard of

Pavlo TYCHYNA, who was particularly known for his servilism<sup>ty</sup> and "partisanship."  
In the December 27, 1962, issue of Radyanska Ukraina, in an editorial entitled,  
Be True to the Great Idea to the End, TYCHYNA stated:

"That day will remain vivid in my memory when, in the Lenin Hills near  
Moscow, we men of literature and art met ~~the~~<sup>with</sup> the leaders of the Party and  
Government... (Reference is made to the Moscow Conference of 17 December 1962.)  
The conversation was about the future path of our culture. Along with the  
adherence by the creative intelligentsia to Lenin's theses on true presenta-  
tion of Soviet reality and preserving the method of socialist realism,  
lately ~~voices have been~~<sup>there have been</sup> heard in the press of militant young adepts of  
letters, colors and sound demanding leading positions<sup>and complete independence</sup> in literature and  
art, ~~and to make them independent of every one~~. The demands are not small,  
to say the least. It was a good thing that all of us present at that meeting  
had a chance to get acquainted with an exhibition of abstractionist artists.  
It left all of us indignant. It was clear to us all that the manner of those  
artists was taken without reservations from the clever, or rather soulless and  
thoughtless artists of the West who had long since fallen from the heights.  
As Nikita Sergeyevich said, 'Under the influence of the latter, our abstraction-  
ists, jabbering about freedom of creation, also rolled into a bottomless pit.'

"Truly spoken. This also can apply to some young poets in our Ukraine,  
poets who, for the sake of innovation, are ready to turn everything over  
in our poetry: images, rythm, dimensions, and even deliberately plant the  
ideas into a classless medium, so as to differ definitely from the older and  
preceding poets ...

"The trouble, however, is that there are some among the young poets who  
do not understand what it means to be an innovator. They have neither theme,  
nor form, nor mood... they are just twisting around like skaters pirouetting

on ice. In addition, there are pseudo-eagles who are unable to rise in flight, they will sometimes nudge with their beaks first one generation, and then the other. Just for the sake of an argument. All this was more than clearly stated in the address of Comrade Illichev: Enemy propaganda uses all means to enlarge unhealthy phenomena and trends in our art. However, the truly young forces, the talented young leaders of Soviet culture maintain continuous ties with the leaders of the older generation. The young do not win a place in literature by attack and spear, but by diligent work and rejection of all ideological vacillations and, most important, political direction of their creative activities..."

Three months after having defended his young colleagues, the tone in Malyshko's writings changed. He began to sound more like Tychyna. Following is an excerpt from his article, The People Agree Wholeheartedly, taken from the March 12, 1963, issue of Literaturna Ukraina.

"Our meeting which began December 17, 1962, and continued on through March 7 and 8, 1963, has already born fruit and will bear more. (Reference is made to the Moscow Conference of the leaders of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government with writers, composers and artists.)

"We should be ashamed that there could have been a period of enthusiasm for formalistic distortions, and that some people were even afraid to oppose the abstractionists lest they be called traditionalists and backward.

"Ask some of these youngsters which writers they prefer and they will reply without hesitating, Remarque or Bell. It never enters their heads that Bell is an infant compared with the giant Fyodor Dostoevsky, and that this literary babe takes from Dostoevsky not his good points but the weakest. Neither do they ever mention a word about the works of Sholokhov, Dovzhenko, Tvardovsky, Honchar, Ryl's'ky or Kuleshov, artists who gave literature specimens of their talent.



"In replies to the question in a poll taken by Voprosy Literaturny as to which artist was preferred, many young people said Picasso, even though when I asked which of Picasso's paintings they had seen, they had to admit they hadn't seen any.

"I think it would be good to put our sincere efforts and good will this year into calling a congress of leaders of culture and art from all the socialist countries. Let people meet each other and exchange their thoughts, joys and troubles. Let them exchange their experiences in the struggle for the victory of realism. This congress would be a powerful blow against the perverts of a hostile ideology.

"Some people might say that we already have a European comity of writers, but unfortunately we do not experience its benefits thus far. Our connections with this comity can be reduced to trips of the same six or seven literateurs to Rome, and we know that some of them have long been infected with the spirit of idolatry of the West...."

There also were those who tried to strike the middle road and were genuinely worried about the future developments between the Party and the artists. Most prominent was the dean of Ukrainian letters, Maksym Rylsky, a poet of renown. He stated the following in his article, This Serious Thing Called Art, in the 29 January 1963 issue of Literaturna Ukraina:

"The December 17, 1962, Moscow meeting of the leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet Government with writers, composers, painters and artists awakened public opinion...

"In a letter written by some prominent representatives of culture addressed to the CC CPSU, and in some speeches at the meeting, an idea arose of possible peaceful coexistence between realism and abstractionism. The idea was sharply rebuked by N.S. Khrushchev, L.F. Il'yichov and other participants at

the meeting. The point is that abstractionism and formalism generally in all its manifestations, is no longer a style, manner, handwriting or opinion, but an ideology. In our country where we are building communism there can be no peaceful coexistence between different ideologies.

"I say that the matter is simple, but we should not oversimplify simple matters, we should not reduce them to the primitive and we should not vulgarize them.

"The people are the highest judge of art. This, in its general meaning, does not produce any contradictions. However, does it therefore follow that every reader, viewer or listener who does not directly participate in art and in art expertise (once again I emphasize that I am using these terms in their broadest meaning), has the right to consider himself an uncontradictory and undisputed appraiser of art in all its forms? Among people who read books, look at paintings and sculpture, see stage shows, etc., there are some who are sensitive and some who are insensitive, some people are capable of comprehending words, paintings and music, and then there are people afflicted with deafness in a direct or indirect meaning, some are color-blind, and so on. In brief, Consumers of art can be talented, less talented and quite helpless. We also know that the less a person knows about something, the more positive and final is his judgment, I don't like it, nonsense, trash, junk and the corollaries; Wonderful, genius, that's the way it should be and give us more.

"Does this mean that one should understand art? Yes, of course. It is not idle talk which we now hear so much and so wisely about improving esthetic training and the need for esthetic education in our schools.

"In order to write books or paint pictures it is necessary to know how. And what about reading books and looking at paintings? One also should know how.

"To understand, for example, Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper, Giorgione's Sleeping Venus or Ivanov's Christ among the People, it is necessary to know quite a lot. And one has to have a developed esthetic taste. It can also be said of Shevchenko's etching, Gifts in Pereyaslav, of some paintings on historical themes by Samokysha and Vasyl'kivs'ky and Pimonenko's Victim of Fanaticism, that it is difficult to accept them without being ready for them...

"A whole army of young poets in Russia and Ukraine are supposedly searching for something new. A careful and attentive reader will distinguish between this searching the path leading to real discoveries and the fast-evaporating bubbles and empty shells of innovation for the sake of innovation. I do not believe that our young poets have to be overly flattered, but neither should we attack them with a damp cloth. Both methods are equally dangerous. The young need one thing, wise love.

"It would be very disagreeable if we, acting on the outcome of the Moscow meeting and on the press reports of it, were to arrive at hasty, highly inflammable and organization conclusions. For example, if the directory of our conservatories or art institutes began to delete from among their students those young people who in their enthusiastic searching make, in the opinion of the teachers, false moves. In these instances the directors of educational institutions should rather look back at their own teaching career and think about how it could turn out this way. Then, of course, they should take a closer look at the dissenter. Similarly, our editorial and publishing offices should be least guided by the principle of suspicion toward everything strange and unexpected in the young writers, toward all that does not fit into present frames of literary bon ton. Often this principle conceals the simplest form of Let sleeping dogs lie..."

Finally, however, the extremist official line prevailed. This is what was stated in the April 9, 1963 issue of Radyanska Ukraina, in an article entitled, "Let Us be Worthy Authors and Creators of Our Great Age" <sup>occasion of the</sup> On the Republic Conference of the Active Creative Intelligentsia and Ideological Workers of the Ukraine which took place on 8-11 April 1963 in Kiev.

"For the purpose of an all-a-round discussion of the best fulfillment of the responsible tasks required by the Party for the continued improvement of ideological work and creative art, the CC of the CP Ukraine convened in Kiev a conference of the active creative intelligentsia and ideological workers of the Republic.

"Taking part in the conference are secretaries of Oblast and City Committees; and City Rayon Party Committees, deputy secretaries of production-industrial Party Committees and Party Committees of collective and state farm production administrations; secretaries of Komsomol Oblast Committees in charge of problems of ideological work; chiefs of Republic Ministries and Bureaus; political workers of the Soviet Army and Navy; large numbers of the creative intelligentsia; writers, composers, artists and leaders of other branches of the arts; editors of Republic, Oblast, Party, zonal Komsomol, City, and industrial management newspapers; propagandists; lecturers; agitators; directors of clubs and libraries, labor and agricultural correspondents; educators and others, a total of more than 1,000 persons.

"The conference was opened by member of the Presidium CC CPSU, First Secretary CC CP Ukraine, M.V. <sup>66</sup> Pidhorny.

"The poet A.S. Malysenko made a motion to elect an honorary Presidium of the Conference consisting of the Presidium of CC CPSU, headed by the true Leninist and tireless fighter for peace and the happiness of all nations, Comrade N.S. Khrushchev. The motion was met by the audience with great elation.

"Secretary of the CC CP Ukraine, A.D. Skaba was given the floor, to deliver a report on the Resolutions of the November Plenum of the CCPSU and December Plenum of the CC CP Ukraine and the Tasks of Ideological Work in the Republic....

"Writers, artists, motion picture people and all artists of Soviet Ukraine met the address of Comrade Khrushchev with great enthusiasm. It gives them wings and elevates them to create works imbued with optimism and life-affirming communist ideas, which bring joy and constructive enthusiasm to millions of people. Meetings of the creative intelligentsia were held in all the large industrial and cultural centers of the Republic; and in a number of enterprises in the Ukrainian capital, leaders of literature and art met with workers and technical employees...

"Comrade Skaba emphasized that it can be stated with complete assurance that writers, artists, composers, and workers of the theater and motion pictures of our Republic have always, in their creative and community activities stood firmly on the Party and Marxist-Leninist positions, and steadfastly defended and defend the ideological purity of literature and art, and the principles of socialist realism...

"The ideologists of the bourgeois world have been waging violent attacks against Soviet art and particularly against the principle of affirming a positive image of the people.

"The speaker noted that it would be very harmful if we were to exaggerate the successes of literature and art, and not notice the serious shortcomings in the work of writers, artists, composers, and workers of the stage and screen. How many works we encounter which are soulless, anemic and petty, and so far from our reality. They are written by old and obsolete methods. In such pedestrian works modern times are not expressed in the essence of presenting events and people, but in exterior attributes and signs...

"The Party expressed its negative attitude toward a 'varnishing' of reality, but it will conduct the same steadfast action against those who attempt to tarnish everything...

"The speaker continued that in recent years our literature and art has been joined by able young prose writers, playwrights, poets, artists and composers. The new recruits of art cannot fail to gladden our hearts. The collections of poems of V. Kolomyets, V. Korotych, V. Symonenko, R. Tretyakov and M. Som are filled with life-asserting chords, and love for the Party and the people. The works of the young are noted for picturesqueness, emotionality, originality and sincere conviction.

"The growth of new creative forces demands more educational work, particularly in literature. However, until recently, both the critics as well as the senior colleagues paid more attention to the strictly professional side of the matter and did not say anything directly or openly about the excessive enthusiasm of some of the young <sup>artists</sup> for <sup>their</sup> pseudo-novel searches <sup>in</sup> for new forms to the detriment of the depth and understandability of the content, clarity of ideological position, uncritical imitation of far from better examples of Western art, and nihilistic attitude toward the realistic traditions of native art. The newspaper, Literaturna Ukraina also showed an undemanding attitude toward the works of the young writers.

"The road toward true innovation in art leads through a deep study of the life of the people, expression of the people's wishes and interests, and development of traditions of the leading realistic art over the centuries. Formalistic twisting of words inevitably lead to distortion and befuddling of the ideological and artistic content of works. That this is the way matters stand is evident from some works of such young poets as M. Vinhranovsk'y, I. Drach and L. Kostenko...

"Some newspapers and magazines and editorial offices of radio and television ~~networks~~ programs considered it proper to make their forums available to the propaganda of ideologically immature works for the spread of opinions which are alien to us. The Kiev TV Studio in its Literary Almanac popularized the muddy and double-meaning poem by the poet Levin, Circle of Adoration. The Kharkov Oblast Radio made its microphones available to Borys Chychybanin who in his, pardon the expression, poems, attempted to preach anarchistic opinions...

"Comrade Skaba emphasized that we must counteract religious rites with Soviet rites and Soviet holidays which would be full-blooded and emotionally saturated with new songs and dances, and with our wonderful folk music. We cannot be reconciled with the fact that our holidays, our days and evenings of rest are often uninteresting and boring...

"A discussion on the report began. Men of letters, composers, Party workers and artists, all who took part in the debate, spoke with gratitude of the great care extended by the Leninist Central Committee of the Party, Comrade N.S. Khrushchev personally, to affirm in our life the high communist ideals, and further develop progressive Soviet culture...

"The secretaries of the Industrial Party Obkoms, V. Yu. Malanchuk of L'viv and V.O. Boychenko of Kiev noted that the reorganization of Party leadership of the national economy had a positive effect on the improvement and raising of the level of all sectors of ideological work...

"Comrade Boychenko, speaking of ideological-educational work among the creative intelligentsia noted that some newspapers and magazines sometimes published primitive and ideologically weak works. Only a lack of adherence to Party principles in the work of editorial offices and art councils can explain the publication in the newspaper, Literaturna Ukraina and the

magazines, Sovetskaya Ukraina and Dnipro of a number of erroneous works by I. Drach and M. Vinhranovs'ky...

"About his address to Cuban writers in Havana, Comrade D.V. Pavlychenko, knowing that his name would not impress them, said: 'Companeros, I am from Ukraine.' And one of them answered: 'Then you must be one of the Cossacks described by Gogol. I read about you in his book, Taras Bulba'..."

"My national pride is filled with class content and it opposes the nonsense invented by critics that the poet is the spokesman of his generation..."

"Isn't the reason for the third adjournment of the All-Union Conference of Young Writers the fact that nobody knows whom to invite to this Conference?"

"Our ideological opponents, speculating with ~~revolutionary~~ phraseology, attempt to fire the creative young people with self-love and declare their distinction from their fathers who allegedly betrayed the communist ideals during the period of the Stalin cult. The facts, however, contradict this. No one can erase the 1930s and 1940s from Soviet literature."

"The painful injustice of Stalin was, of course, a hard and perhaps the most awful trial of our art, but our fathers passed the test. Not in the proud role of prosecutors, but in deep respect, bowing to the courage and clarity of mind, we the sons, should stand before the names of Dovzhenko, Ostap Vyshnya, Yanovsk'y, Ryl's'ky, Honchar, and many others, dead and living, steadfast in their communist ideals"...

The highest Ukrainian Party official also spoke. Following are excerpts from the address made by Comrade M.V. Podgorney to the Conference of Active Creative Intelligentsia and Ideological Workers of the Republic on April 9, 1963, taken from the April 10, 1963, issue of Radyanska Ukraina. The address was entitled, Let Us Live and Create for the People, in the Name of the Victory of Communism.



"The Party decidedly demands an improvement of work among the broad circles of the Soviet intelligentsia: teachers, engineering and technical workers, scientists, leaders of literature and art. We must continuously watch for an improvement of their ideological and theoretical standards and political hardening, and they must be more broadly recruited for agitation and propaganda work...

"Our main attention must be centered on the improvement of education in labor of the whole population, particularly young people and children...

"The imperialists are spending billions of dollars on poisonous propaganda in order to revive the petty bourgeois and other capitalist prejudices among the backward part of our population, and they sow among the Soviet people, and especially among the young, a mood of pessimism, indifference to politics and lack of idealism, and attempt to shake their patriotic feelings and morally deprave them.

"What means they resort to! Radio transmissions, all kinds of exhibitions, mailing of literature, records with decadent music, personal correspondence, tourist trips, ~~flattering~~<sup>seducing</sup> our people, etc.

"Hundreds of so-called institutes and scientific centers operate in the West for the study of our life and our politics. They read every book, newspaper and magazine and listen to radio programs trying to find the tiniest crack through which they could crawl into the soul of the Soviet people. It is they, counting on the politically immature people, who offer us petty ideas of abstractionism, absolute freedom, abstract truth, coexistence of two ideologies, problems of parents and children, nonpartisanship in creative work, general humanism, etc...

"Our class enemies and their propaganda are subversive. They have great experience in fooling people and hence sometimes they accomplish the result which they ~~are after~~<sup>seek</sup>. This is evident, particularly, from the existence

of criminality, including crimes committed by youths, and hooliganism which often appears under the guise of youthful exuberance and bravado. There are also other acts of antisocial behavior...

"We must expose the capitalist way of life and the machinations of bourgeois ideology, and by all available means protect the Soviet people from its damaging effects...

"The writers and artists of our Republic have recently come out with a number of interesting and urgent works of art, which have become part of the treasury of the multinational Soviet culture. It is heartening that new ranks of talented young people are continually joining literature and art.

"Comrade Podhorny continued that the reports and addresses correctly pointed to serious shortcomings lately noticed in the development of Ukrainian literature and art. We cannot remain indifferent to facts where some men of letters, artists, and composers, falling under the influence of bourgeois propaganda, imitated the worst examples of the work of Ehrenburg, Nekrasov, Yevtushenko and Voznesensky, and began to put out ideologically doubtful and confused works.

"Recently the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist counter-revolutionary leaders abroad created a great stir concerning the works of Drach, Vinhranovs'ky, Dzyuba and other writers, published some of their works in their own magazines, and even published a book with a preface, which was, naturally, slanted in their own favor...

"Our magazines, publishing houses and theaters have weakened their Party principles and demands, and publish or stage immature works. And some critics write flattering reviews and prefaces to books about them. Under

these undemanding conditions, works lacking ideas penetrate into literature, distracting the attention of readers on trivia.

"Here is an example: The Ballad of the Laundered Pants (laughter in the audience). Its author, I. Drach, is attempting to create a shocking image of a pair of pants with an open fly and raise this image to cosmic categories. He says with a straight face that hanging by the cuffs, pinned with sharp stars, the pants went up to heaven. And this drivel was published by the State Publishing House of Literature, UkSSR, unfortunately under the editorship of the well-known critic L. Novychenko. Something similar in meaning and mastery can be found in the collection of poems by M. Vinhranovs'ky, printed by the Radyans'ky Pys'mennyk Publishing House.

"Fully responsible for the publication of immature and trick works are the publishing houses, the Association of Writers, and particularly the editors of the newspaper, Literaturna Ukraina, which often loudly served the public with works of low quality and lacking ideas...

"Further, the speaker dwelled on the address delivered to the Conference by M. Vinhranovs'ky, which lacked self-criticism and was contradictory. Comrade Podgorny said that it is customary in our Party and among our people to affirm words with deeds. A writer's deeds are his works. But what did Comrade Vinhranovsky come up with? In his address he used correct words, but in the poem which he read in conclusion of his address, he contradicted them with distorted and erroneous statements...

"At our Conference we have already discussed the gross distortion of life and struggle of the Soviet people in the writings of Ehrenburg. In his memoirs Ehrenburg has particularly tendentiously disfigured the life of the Ukrainian people, through which he earned the praises of the bourgeois press and Ukrainian nationalists.

"A certain trace of an unhealthy influence has been left on a small group of Ukrainian men of letters by Yevtushenko..."

Yevtushenko was also mentioned by others, usually along with Ehrenburg and Nekrasov, as "the evil" negatively influencing his Ukrainian colleagues. The April 12, 1963, issue of Literaturna Ukraina carried the following comments made by Andriy Malyshko:

"I can understand why Yevtushenko, who is still a young man, has produced things which are full of contempt for what is ours and Soviet, and why he crawls before the West. I remember his visit to Ukraine last year. He drew a huge audience to his evening in the October Palace. This meeting, as well as many others, Yevtushenko conducted in his usual loose manner. His answers to questions were conceited and brazen. In answer to a question as to which of the Ukrainian poets he was acquainted with, he said with contempt, 'I don't know such poetry at all. Here is one talented young poet, Vanya Drach, up in the balcony. Come here'. Why didn't Ivan Drach tell his newly-found friend: 'You know, Comrade Yevtushenko, we were not even born yet when there was the following great Ukrainian Soviet poetry: Tychyna, Ryl's'ky, Sosyura, Yanovsky, Dovzenko and others. This great poetry was already fighting for the cause of Lenin and it was known far beyond the Ukraine.

"I say this to Drach because I respect the young, although as yet not firm talent of Drach, hoping that he will improve. Well, if at that time Drach had been able to break with these influences firmly and on principle, I would not have to talk to him this way, and everything would have been different.

"A few words about the address of M. Vinhranovs'ky. I believe that he is a gifted person, like Drach. I think that subjectively he is honest and talented, and that this is why it hurts us to talk about him. He just spoke and said: 'I am the sword. I am not a servant, but a son of the people.' All right. I have been working in literature a little longer than Vinhranovs'ky, but believe me, I say with pride today, tomorrow and up to my very last day: 'I am a servant of the people.' The words 'I am a sword' sound immodest. Let the people say that about you. The people chose as their sword the words of Shevchenko and Franko, and it will take a lot of growing for a young poet to reach them..."

In another article entitled, The People - Invigators of the Muses, Ibidem, page 3, it was stated:

"The participants were not at all satisfied with the address of V. Nekrasov. All his works, and primarily those which contain reference to any appraisal of the basic phenomena of Soviet life and the capitalist world, contrary to the truth, he considers to be above reproach. This, far from self-critical address of V. Nekrasov demonstrated to the participants of the Conference his ideological inability to correctly evaluate, from Marxist positions, certain facts, and his reluctance to seriously heed correct and just criticism..."

"The Conference of the creative workers of Ukraine expressed a sharp dissatisfaction with the lack of self-criticism in the address of M. Vinhranovs'ky. Uncontradictable facts which prove his conceit and errors in his works, were actually ignored by M. Vinhranovs'ky, and he attempted to present himself in the role of an unjustly insulted man of letters..."

The critics were not idling either. They attacked all - writers, poets,

artists, and their professional colleagues - other critics, too. One of them, Lubomyr Dmyterko, in his address, Mobilized and called by the Revolution, presented at the 4th Plenum of the Board of Directors of the Association of Writers of the USSR, as published in the Literaturna Ukraina of April 2, 1963, said:

..."Some critics, particularly the young, like Ivan Dzyuba and Ivan Svitlychny, were among those who incorrectly evaluated the state of literature. Among some critics there was widespread a harmful theory about the conflict between parents and children, the struggle of generations, etc.

"Distorted theoretical inventions led to pearls of creativeness which produce a sharp protest of all normal people. Thus, for example, the Kharkov magazine Prapor published in its January issue, a poem by the young poet Ivan Drach, Ode to an Honest Coward.

"This poem is addressed to the older generation of Soviet writers. Thank God, it has not been translated into Russian, and we hope it will not be, because only the best works of the national literatures are translated...

"The poets, like Vinhranovsky, Korotych and the same Drach, also resorted to formalistic tricks, and when readers complained that they failed to understand their meaning, the poets just shrugged it off with conceit..."

A Direct "Link" to Bourgeois Nationalists Abroad

It didn't take long for the Party to connect young writers and artists with bourgeois nationalists abroad. For their purpose the official castigators used the fact that some poetry and other works of the young poets were being reprinted abroad. There were particularly vehement attacks against the publication of an Anthology of Young Ukrainian poets entitled Poets of the Chumak Road printed in Munich in 1962 by the publishers of Suchanist. Here are some excerpts from, Let us Defend the Honor and Glory of Soviet Literature, describing the meeting of the Party Organization of Kiev Writers in Literaturna Ukraina of April 23, 1963:

"The great debate on principles at the open meeting of the Party organization of Kiev writers on ideological tasks facing literary workers at this time began with an opening address by Oleksandr Korneichuk...

"Our Soviet homeland and the whole camp of socialism, the speaker said, have today reached such a stage of development and such power that the imperialists would not dare stand in our way by force of arms. But they do not surrender their positions without a fight. They seek the tiniest fissures in order to hurt us and halt our progress. Spending huge sums of money, a whole army of people is working for an ideological diversion against the building of communism...

The ideological diversions by V. Nekrasov were criticized by numerous speakers. Ya. Bash mentioned in particular that V. Nekrasov did not find his way to the ideologically erroneous position of subjectivism by accident. At one time he had been elected an officer of the Association of Writers of Ukraine and entrusted with the responsible position of Deputy Chairman of the Association. What was his attitude to this show of confidence of the organization? He shunned regular civic work... He actually also ignored

the Kiev Party organization of writers, because he seldom attended meetings and did not take an active part in its work...

"The organizers of ideological diversion in the West are primarily aiming their poisoned arrows at Soviet creative youth. Q. Korneichuk told the assembly that recently portraits of Yevtushenko, Voznesensky and Akhmadulina have been published abroad quite frequently. Basically they are not extolled as poets, but as precursors of the new Russia destined to wage a battle against the dogmatists.

"The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have been selecting certain poems by I. Drach, M. Vinhranovsky and others. Of course, these mixed-up and confused works give them grounds for their interest. Naturally, we must determine who is reprinting what and for what purpose, out of the creative treasury of the Soviet poets...

"O. Levada said that he had read a scenario by M. Vinhranovs'ky and offered some suggestions, but the latter refused to change one word...

"V. Vil'ny said that the young writers should have been sent to collective farms, to building sites, to men of labor, but for some reason they were primarily sent abroad...

"Here is what M. Vinhranovs'ky said at the meeting: 'Following the meeting in the Kremlin and the Republic ideological conference, I thought things over. I say <sup>ω</sup> many things in a new light and changed my mind. I am very grateful to the Comrades who criticized some of my poems in a friendly way. I accept the criticism. I never deliberately intended to place the writers of the younger and older generation against each other. I myself am a sergeant. I remember O. Dovzhenko with love and I want to learn from him about love for my people, modesty and principles in art... I wish to declare with the full power of my voice to the despicable pygmies from the nationalists dumps



of Europe that I will never carry bread to the enemy from these grains that come from my home...'

"The poet Vitaliy Korotych praised the address of M. Vinhranovs'ky and said that he would like to welcome him soon with new works about the life of the working people. At the same time, however, V. Korotych made an attempt to soften the criticism of those who had erred. He made the impression that he continued to defend the right to make mistakes and to wander along the devious ways of unnecessary tricks.

"The meeting was not satisfied, but indignant at the confusing, sometimes absurd and tactless address of I. Dzyuba. Fighting for culture and ethics in polemics, he himself attacked his opponents, attempting to accuse of injustice all those who criticized the ideological devotions of certain writers...

"Many serious charges were made at the meeting against critics who failed to help the young writers in time to realize their errors, and mostly praised their still immature works.

"This subject was touched upon in the opening address of O. Korneichuk and in the addresses of Ya. Bash, O. Levada, M. Vil'ny, V. Zemlyak, D. Tkach, M. Sheremet and Yu. Zbanats'ky.

"O. Levada emphasized that criticism must be demanding and principled. We must tell the artist the whole truth if we think that he errs. Truth is the best medicine...

"The speakers criticized the newspaper Literaturna Ukraina because at one time it had not displayed sufficient adherence to principle in the selection and preparation of material for publication. It had not become the proper tribune in the struggle for ideological and creative growth and strengthening of young talents. As had been pointed out at the Republic

conference, the newspaper had loudly advertised the formalistic exercises of some pseudo-innovators.

"Yu. Zbanats'ky said in conclusion that the fact that critics did not address the meeting and are still keeping silent indicates that they are generally slow to reform. We must firmly embark on the road of active aid to the Party for continued improvement of the ideological and artistic standards of Ukrainian Soviet literature..."

In Taras Myhal' Cain and Lyric Poetry, in the Literaturna Ukraina of May 10, 1963, on page 4, the following was stated:

"Recently I came upon a book in a soiled and faded cover with the bourgeois-dreamy title, Poets of the Road of Chumaks, published in Munich. It contains amateurishly selected poems by our young poets. The introduction was written by a man whom I and the people of my generation know fairly well, the racists and Hitler's servant, Bohdan Kravtsiv. The introduction did not surprise me at all, although I could not read it without deep indignation. Bohdan Kravtsiv has enough hatred for Soviet Ukraine and its people to last him a lifetime.

"I felt great pain for our poets M. Vinhranovs'ky, I. Drach, Lina Kostenko, V. Korotych and Ye. Hutsalo. I love and respect their good works. Do they realize whose hands have reached for their children - their poems born out of the suffering of their hearts? Do they understand why Kravtsiv and those like him have suddenly become interested in their works and started to bow in their direction? Do they realize the whole meaning of what happened? And isn't there some guilt, even unintentional and undeserved, on their part?

"The Kravtsivs, like foxes going after chicken, are sensitive to distorted and unclear words. They are sly and pliable like snakes - they have crawled through a hard life, always in treacherous fights, in the fog of falsehoods

which always had to be covered up, masked and turned about. They are the talented pupils of Macchiavelli and Nietzsche, Goebbels and Rosenberg, and loyal champions of the fascist religion...

"What is Mr. Kravtsiv seeking in their poems? Not out of love for us, for the Soviet Government, or Ukrainian literature did this old werewolf focus his attention on some of our young poets, devoted 3 to 6 pages in his Bandera magazine Suchasnist to five of them and then published them in a special collection with his appropriate comments...

"I want to be correctly understood. I am not opposed to the spreading of Ukrainian literature abroad. On the contrary, I am very proud of the fact that Ukrainian literature is winning wide circles of friends all over the world, and that it has become a permanent part of world culture. I am happy about the words of my old friend, the poet Yuriy Kosach (incidentally, he is almost the same age as Kravtsiv) who, in the magazine Za Synim Okeanom (Beyond the Blue Ocean) very accurately characterizes the poetry of our young poets. But Kravtsiv is looking for something entirely different in the works of these poets. Here are the prophetic words of this clown: 'In their attempt to lead Ukrainian poetry onto a new road (!) and escape from the vicious circle of collective-farm-industrial and Party (?) thematics, the young poets take wide advantage of the achievement of modern Western poetry'...

"The fascists have no moral right to touch the works of our poets with their hands. The hands of such editors and publishers like Kravtsiv are elbow-deep in the blood of the Ukrainian people. The Kravtsiv will never realize the prophetic dream of the nationalists - to drive a wedge between the creative generations of our masters of culture, and find in our Soviet literature and art the tiniest fissure for their hostile, rotten and racist-infected ideas... Futile are your blasphemous obeisances toward the young.

You can expect but one answer from them - the same with which the nationalist calamity seekers were honored by our great Pavlo Tychyna in the 1920s:

'O, once again you have my curse!  
My soul will not be sold,  
For what is in your purse:  
Not laurels, bread, nor eagles gold.  
I stand immobile, as a rock.'

"I would like to draw another conclusion from this story. No works should come from the pens of Soviet writers which could be used as weapons by the enemy. In the era of the relentless ideological struggle no true poet - a fighter for the people and Party - can write non-political or neutral works, which, as one would say, could serve both you and us. The line of battle must pass through the heart of every creative writer and through every line of his works.

"Who are you with, masters of words? This question must be answered clearly and honestly. With your hearts, works and consciences."

There was also a vituperative attack against the emigration itself, in particular against some publications that had reached the Ukraine. One example is the following taken from Oleksandr Mazurkevych's Liars and Hypocrites, published in the May 29, 1963 issue of Radyans'ka Ukraina:

"Long-long ago a winged Latin phrase came from the pen of the sage Spinoza: 'Ignorantia non est argumentum' (Ignorance is not an argument). But 'original' people are still around whose sole argument is precisely ignorance. Quite recently one of these ignoramuses, hoisting his sail of pseudo-scholarship, attempted to shine with his truth by reference to our great Bard.

"We refer to the recently published book, written by one Vasyl' Barka under the hypocritical title, The Truth of the Bard (Prolog Publishing Association). The booklet bears no similarity to a serious work of literature.

This is an all-out political libel, directed against scholarly studies of Shevchenko. How far the author is from scholarship in general, is evident from the fact that Vasyl' Barka considers as equal Bolshevik agents both the author of the article, The Illusion Dispelled (In Answer to the Curious Person from Overseas), published in Literaturna Ukraina of January 3 and 6, 1961, as well as I.G. Prizhov.

"Prizhov, however, was a prominent scholar and journalist of the 2nd half of the 19th century, among whose numerous works, according to I. Franko, the 'history of Southern-Rus' literature was presented for the first time', he was a propagandist of the works of Shevchenko even at the lifetime of the genius Ukrainian poet in the 1860s, and was born 136 years ago...

"What is all this about? What has so frightened the overseas bird? Did Prizhov bother him so much? In order to answer this, it is sufficient to copy the paragraph in which the overseas critic seemingly first encountered the name of Prizhov. We wish to note that the paragraph which recited the quotation from Prizhov, referred to the fact that the voices of the working Ukrainian emigrants are heard ever stronger in the United States and Canada, saying, 'Keep your dirty hands off Shevchenko. Don't besmirch the national temple.' It referred to the attempt of the reactionaries to take advantage of the name of Shevchenko for the purpose of spreading the cold war, for this was the purpose of the cynically-hypocritical resolution to build a Shevchenko monument in the United States, the presence of which, according to the American newspaper, Star, would contribute to dissatisfaction in the USSR.

"And then followed the paragraph in which Barka stumbled upon Prizhov: 'The name of Shevchenko, the voice of brotherhood of nations, whose memory they decided to use to incite hostility among nations and spread the mankind-hating cold war. Shevchenko was a great lover of mankind. The contemporaries

of the revolutionary poet, progressive leaders of Russian culture, considered him to be one of the greatest humanitarians. The well-known literary expert and scholar, one of the first historians of Ukrainian literature, I.G. Prizhov, said of Shevchenko: 'In his soul and songs there was so much love of mankind, that it would suffice for millions of people.' Now who but the haters of mankind are trying to pay their respects to this lover of mankind. This is indeed cynicism and baseness which know no boundaries nor bounds....

"A dedicated champion of the inviolate friendship of the Ukrainian, Russian and other peoples, Prizhov declared that Ukraine was forever united with Russia. He always perceived in the hard-working Russian people a sincere and brotherly attitude toward the wise, good and honest Ukrainian people....

"Vasyl' Barka is trying to be smart, just like all his mates. He is smart and speculates. Thus he has spiked with lies through and through his hypocritical book with an appraisal of the "Truth of the Bard"...

*Soviet Ukrainian Writers who are being*  
The Attacked in the Ukraine

Who are those young Writers and Poets who are being so vehemently attacked?

Who are Vinhranovskyi, Drach, Kostenko and others?

Here they are:

MYKOLA VINHRANOVSKYI - Born in the town of Pervomayske, Mykolayiv Oblast, he studied motion picture art in Moscow from 1957 to 1960 and is now working as an artist in a Ukrainian motion picture studio. His first poems, fresh and original, although far from showing any trend toward formalism or abstractionism, appeared in 1958 in the <sup>No. 8.</sup> August issue of the magazine Zhovten' (L'viv) No. 8. The first collection of poems submitted by Vinhranovs'ky to the Molod' Publishing House was rejected by the editorial censors because of "insulting elements" in the poems. A full page of selected poems of M. Vinhranovs'ky with a strong formalistic trend was printed by Literaturna Gazeta (Kiev) on 7 April 1961. The Radyansky Pys'mennyk Publishing House printed his first collection of poems in 1962, under the title Atomic Preludes. A favorable introduction was written by the literary critic, Borys Buryak, who stated that the poems of M. Vinhranovs'ky are characterized by intellectualism, thematic novelty, and formalism, and that they have a noticeable complexity of images and abstractionism. In his appearances at a number of literary meetings, and in newspaper articles in 1962 and early 1963, Vinhranovsky sharply attacked the middle generation of Soviet Ukrainian writers, calling them Stalinists and good-for-nothings. Attacked by the Soviet commissar of ideology A.D. Skabad, L. Dmyterko and others, Vinhranovs'ky had to offer excuses many times, until finally he stated that he would work in production in order to be closer to life.

IVAN DRACH - A leading figure among the young poets, he was born in a peasant family in 1936, in the village of Telizhyntsi, Kiev Oblast. After serving in the army from 1955 to 1958, he studied at Kiev University. His first

poems appeared in the magazine Zmina in April 1959. The attention of readers and critics was captured by his poem of fantasy-tragedy, Nizh u Sontsi (Knife in the Sun), printed in Literaturna Gazeta (Kiev), in July 1961. This poem by Drach, written in a formalistic style, caused sharp attacks against him by Soviet writers of the middle generation, particularly those who had at one time glorified Stalin. They criticized Drach not so much for his formalism and complexity of images, but for his mention of the mad and tragic years of the Stalin terror period, the black mockery of 1937, and the time of mass destruction of the Ukrainian people and intelligentsia. Attacked many times in 1961 and 1962, Drach did not abandon his search for enrichment of his poetic expression. His cycle of verses "Telizhenske Lito", (Summer in Telizhen) published in Literaturna Gazeta (Kiev) in 1962, is an example of this trend. Drach caused a tempest in the Soviet literary world by his poem "Ode to an Honest Coward" which was printed in the Kharkov magazine Prapor, in January 1963. In this poem Drach attacked white-haired masters with black mouths, promising to place a stone on their tongues, i.e., forcing them to silence. This poem, as well as the first collection of his poems, "Sonyashnyk" (Sunflower), published late in 1962, placed Drach in the center of all attacks by Party leaders and ideologists, and official literary critics who are loyal to the Party. In spite of all appeals to repent and admit his errors, Drach, who in the meantime left Kiev for Moscow to continue his studies, has refused to resort to self-criticism. Literaturna Ukraina of July 16, 1963, printed two new poems by Drach, "Balada pro Chayku" (Ballad of the Seagull), protesting American atomic tests in the Pacific, and another one, glorifying the Soviet space woman, Valentina Tereshkova. These poems, with a content acceptable to the Soviet regime, are in the old formalistic style characterizing Drach.

LINA KOSTENKO - Born 19 March 1930, in Rzhyshev near Kiev, she attended the imeni Gor'ky Literary Institute in Moscow from 1951 to 1956. Her first



collection of poems, "Prominnya Zemli" (Rays of the Earth), was published in Kiev in 1957, her second collection, "Vitryla" (Sails), was published in Kiev in 1958. Both collections were met with sharp criticism for portraying hopeless despair, lost feeling, passivity and lack of a civic tone. Official critics particularly disliked Kostenko's "formal tricks." Her modernistic poems, "Hranitni Ryby" (Granite Fishes), "Paporot" (Fern) and "Myslyvets" (The Hunter), were published in the <sup>No. 1</sup> July 1957 issue of Zhovten' (L'viv) No. 7, and subsequently printed in the "Vitryla" collection. As a result of criticism, she remained silent for three years, and not until 1961, did she publish her third collection, "Mandrivky sertsya" (Wanderings of the Heart). Since graduation she has been working in the imeni O. Dovzhenko Cinema Studio in Kiev. Early in 1963, the Kiev magazine Dnipro published her motion picture scenario "Perevirte Svoyi Hodynnyky" (Check Your Watches), written in collaboration with Arkadiy Dobrovols'ky. This work, written in a modern style, was sharply criticized by Robitnycha Gazeta. During the 1963 campaign against formalism and abstractionism she was mentioned among the group of young Ukrainian writers of the formalistic trend only by the Secretary of the CC CP Ukraine, A.D. Skaba. The literary world is favorable disposed toward her works and she is now active in the literary life of Kiev. In Literaturna Ukraina of 10 May 1963, she published a selection of poems, with her own preface, by the Soviet poet, Volodymyr Bulayenko, who was killed during the war.

VITALIY KOROTYCH - Born in Kiev in 1936, he is the son of a physician and himself a practicing physician. His first poems appeared in the newspaper Molod' Ukrainy in 1958. His original and fairly modern verses which appeared in Literaturna Gazeta (Kiev) in 1961, included an interesting poem about Ernest Hemingway. His first collection, "Zoloti Ruky" (Golden Hands), came out in 1961 and the second, "Zapakh Neba" (Perfume of the Sky), in 1962. During the Party

crusade against formalism and abstractionism, Korotych was not attacked and not mentioned among the group of formalists and abstractionists. His works were favorably commented upon even by such Party leaders in the Ukraine as M. Pádhorny, A. Skaba and others. Only one poem by Korotych, "Derevo" (The Tree), was criticized in Literaturna Ukraina on March 19, 1963. His poems are still being printed in Soviet periodicals.

YEVHAN HUTSALO - The fifth member among the prominent young Soviet writers in the Ukraine, he was born in Podilla in 1936. Hutsalo's first poems appeared in Literaturna Gazeta on 13 January 1959. He captured the attention of readers and critics by a cycle of poems entitled "The Green Joy of Lillies of the Valley" (Zelena radist' konvaliy), published in the same newspaper on 12 September 1961. Hutsalo has lately turned to prose writing and has published several volumes of stories and novelettes. Hutsalo was not mentioned during the crusade against formalism and abstractionism. He was attacked only recently by the Soviet critics, V. Oskotskiy and M. Shamota, in the 13 and 15 July 1963 issues of Literaturna Gazeta for his novel Za chvert' hodyny do matchu (Fifteen Minutes to Game Time) which had been printed in Prapor (Kharkov) No. 1, January 1963, along with poems by Drach, Ye. Letyuk and Korotych. These critics censure Hutsalo for the psychological analysis evident in his work, and particularly because it contains "clear signs of thoughtless imitation of internal monologues of Belli and dialogues of Hemingway."

IVAN DZIUBA - Born in Mykolaivka, Stalinska oblast, Donbass in 1931, he graduated from Donetsk Pedagogical Institute and then acquired an aspirantura at the imeni Shevchenka Institute of Literature, academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR. At the same time, he became a contributor to the magazine, Vitchyzna. During the second half of the 1950s, together with other young colleagues of his, he gained a reputation as a modern and very talented critic, mercilessly castigating all the primitivism, crudeness and simpleness of partisan social realism. For

his straightforward though rather sophisticated views, deeply imbued with genuine Ukrainian patriotism, he was subjected to particularly vehement attacks of Party and Government officials and of his older, "party-loyal" colleagues. In addition to a series of articles, Ivan Dziuba also published, in Kiev in 1959, a collection of his essays on literary criticism entitled, Common Human Being or City Man.

These are the young people who as late as last December were praised by official papers as the product of the era which began with the 20th Congress of our Party and whose works in the fresh atmosphere become a sort of confirmation of progress in all sectors of our society. Following are excerpts from The Voice of the Creative New Generation - Young Authors on the All-Union Conference, an editorial published in Molod Ukrainy of December 5, 1962:

"... We are making a summary of literature today not merely for 12 months, but for an entire period which, by its tempo and qualitative changes in all sectors of our society, can be compared with the era which began with the 20th Congress of our Party, and whose main features are: exposure of the personality cult, adoption of the program of building communism, and finally, the November Plenum of the CC CPSU with its truly revolutionary resolutions.

"In the fresh atmosphere the circulation of blood in the body of literature quickened. To be more exact, there was sharp censure of dullness, monotonous declaratory drum-beating, and abstract rhetoric and standard dressing for all genres, which had turned the literary process into an assembly line. There has been a definite return to the presentation of man, with his joys and sorrows, dreams and expectations, on a large plane; penetration of the remotest recesses of life from the positions of militant humanism; and uncompromising criticism of everything obsolete, through propaganda of what is new and communist.

"Against this background a number of works appeared in all genres, both in the Ukraine as well as the rest of the Soviet Union, which have become a sort of confirmation of progress in all sectors of our society. However, the most encouraging phenomenon of the last five years was the fact that the literary field has blossomed with a new rich crop of young, interesting, and original poets and writers, who are justly called children of the 20th century. Their voices sound true and clear. Volodymyr Luchak, Yevhen Hutsalo, Ivan Drach, Vasyl Symonenko, Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi, Robert Tretiakov, Valerii Shevchuk, Vitalii Korotych, Volodymyr Drozd, Petro Skunts' ... the list in literature continues.

"These are people who are already known to readers from individual books or repeated appearances in newspapers. They are followed closely on the heels (in the best meaning of the expression) by whole groups of still little-known, but no less interesting writers and poets. Among them are: Anatolii Taran, Valerii Iur'ev, Fedir Boiko, Hryts'ko Kyrychenko, Mykola Kholodnyi, Vasyl' Folvarochnyi, Stanislav Tel'niuk, Vitalii Riznyk ... and again, the list does not end here...

"The best testimonial of an author is his output. In recent years the shelves of bookstores have been filling with many collections of poems, stories and novels by young authors. Thus, the time has come to exchange ideas on the occasion of different problems which arise, to view the tasks and prospects of the literary process and appraise the gains already made. We expect that the All-Union Conference of Young Authors to be held in the middle of December in Moscow, will be the forum for this purpose.

"Preparations for the forum of young authors have been going on for a long time. Heated exchanges of ideas, meetings of regional literary associations, creative reports by poets and writers in the Writers' Association, discussions among readers and beginning authors - these are indications that the

interest in literature has considerably increased, and the pulse of creative life has improved and quickened.

"We were again convinced of this, listening to the conversations among the young in our editorial offices on November 27, 1962. The invitations to this discussion contained two questions:

1. What is your idea of modern literature?
2. What problems of literature should, in your opinion, be considered at the Conference in Moscow?

"This meeting reaffirmed that accepted signs in literature have a fairly conventional meaning. One can be sixty years old and young, and again old as the world at eighteen. The main thing is for the artist to have a heart. If the heart is young, it does not matter how many years have furrowed the man's brow, he will stay enthusiastic and have the fervor of youth in his works.

"Borys Dmytrovych Antonenko-Davydovych travelled a hard road of life. Many an eighteen-year old, however, could envy him his sharp eyesight, his warm passion as artist and man, and that is perhaps the reason why he was so sincerely greeted by the young poets and writers at their meeting. The discussion began with his address.

"B. Antonenko-Davydovych said: 'When I get together with our young people, and with their works, I am particularly gladdened by the happy events in Ukrainian Soviet literature in recent years. Not only because we, the older writers have worthy successors to follow us, but also for another reason. This is what happened to me once: I asked the salesgirl in a book kiosk at a railroad station for a book. The girl poked among the stock for a long time, and finally said in embarrassment: Unfortunately, we have it only in Ukrainian. I answered: This is exactly what I want. She raised

her eyebrows in surprise and handed me the book in disbelief.

'Who is to blame for this attitude toward Ukrainian books? We, the writers, are the first to blame. During the period of the Stalin personality cult, a harmful trend became rooted, that of sending to the printers anything at all, just to fill the book market. And whereas in Russian literature the standards, although lowered, still existed, we had hardly any at all. These are the sad consequences: the readers turned away from their own literature. Now, however, with the appearance of the young writers, and especially the poets, we observe a happy development: by their efforts, searchings, and appeals to the spiritual life of man, the young are rehabilitating our literature.'

"A voice from the audience asked: Is this not too much for those who are only just starting? B. Antonenko-Davydovych answered: 'I personally witnessed the rate at which collections by Korotych, Vinhranovs'kyi and others were being sold from the shelves of bookstores. We cannot say that our critics have fulfilled any percentage of their mission of being fiery propagandists of the works by the young. Nevertheless, the books sold, because word of mouth preceded the criticism and advertising which should have been given to the authors by periodicals and bookstores. In practice, Comrades, they have conquered the market! It is only a pity that their books were printed in such ridiculously small numbers of copies. The very fact of a demand for books by the young proves that the people are waiting for their poet. But what kind of poet? This is where I wish to turn our talk toward the works of the young. What do I consider positive, and, conventionally negative in the production of the next generation? The positive is first of all freshness of ideas, and the truth and sincerity of what they are talking about. Sincerity is the main and distinguishing feature of any true artist.

If he loses it, then no modern or vivid images will attract the reader.

I wish to note with pleasure that the works of Korotych, Drach and Symonenko, gained prestige precisely due to this sincerity and uncompromising attitude...

'I must admit that the chase after a gaudy exterior for their works often reduces the circle of readers of one or another author...I appeal to my colleagues to take better care of the culture of language. You must not only utilize what you inherited from the classicists and from folklore, but develop and multiply it. Language is a delicate but at the same time a powerful tool which must always be in clean shape and used at its full extent. This is exactly one of the topics we should discuss at the Conference in Moscow, and at all other meetings at which we dwell on problems of modern literature.'

"It is true that right now we need a lot of sincerity - said Vitalii Korotych. However, there are two kinds of sincerity. The writers who caused the readers to turn their backs on literature were also sincere in a manner of speaking. But we should oppose such 'sincerity'. We still have a category of persons who, having assumed the right to speak in the name of the people, decide without appeal what the reader will understand, and what, in their opinion, he will not understand. In this manner they humiliate our people and their brilliant wisdom and high intellect...

"Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi said: The very fact that we have gathered for this kind of discussion is the best proof that the atmosphere of our life is getting cleansed from the stifling odors of the personality cult...

"Where do we look for readers? - were the opening words of Ivan Kushtenko. 'To find an answer, you must first discover what the children are learning in school and who teaches them. For the most part language and literature is taught by persons who are behind the times, therefore, we must take decisive action to have teachers employed in schools, especially in the

rural schools <sup>which</sup> are highly qualified and do not limit their work to textbooks, but also acquaint their pupils with authors who may not be listed in the textbook, but who are popular among readers.'

"Mykola Kholodnyi answered: 'Permit me, Comrades, to say the following. Some people, without probing the yardstick of philosophy in the works of the young authors, hint that they imitate Western literature, and so on. However, such charges are made not so much out of worry for the purity of our literature, as out of ignorance of it. In the 1920s we had Ukrainian writers to whom it is difficult to compare not only our own, but possibly world figures of letters. Now is the time to publish the entire spiritual heritage of the 1920s, whence came the young Tychna, and where <sup>and</sup> the then young poet A. Holovko took roots. We must also show the world our fine artistic paintings...

"Valerii Shevchuk said: Along with highly intellectual literature, there should be an average literature for people who, for one reason or another, have not reached the level of intellectualism.

Mykhailo Sirenko replied: I do not think that there is an average literature. Literature can only be intellectually high and it is our duty to elevate the reader to understand it. We cannot cater at some reduced standard under any form of pretext...

"This idea was supported by a great majority of the participants, particularly Fedir Boiko, Mykola Kholodnyi, Hryhorii Kyrychenko and others...

"Anatolii Sedyk said: 'We heard here that writers are losing readers because they sweeten reality. I would say that readers do not want too much truth. But what kind of truth? You open a novel and you read the minutest details of the technological process of manufacturing milking



machines, or of the construction of industrial projects. What about the souls of the heroes, their passions, worries and joys? Those who read such books see themselves only at work, and nothing more. What does this kind of literature or art offer? Dullness, lack of ideas and anti-intellectualism.'

And as a conclusion, here is the poem of DRACH, Ode to an Honest Coward, published in the January 1963 issue of Prapor:

There's no horizon for you, and no skies  
You killed and poisoned them with lies,  
You hate the sun, spit at the silvery cloud,  
Your crawling life - it makes you proud  
And your mind's designs  
Live in the filth in sewer pipes.

True, we're not cheering all the time  
We cheer the plow and assembly line.  
Your time to die is long past gone  
And ours to place a stone upon your tongue

An all-round man. Round as an adder puffed  
Your white-maned head, it had us bluffed  
Until we saw your blackened teeth  
And how with hate they seethe  
Singing your one and only song:  
That we are rickety, because we're young.

With love, I bow - and I'm not bitter  
That's why I cut a heavy log  
To build for you an oaken litter.  
Write and compose:  
Some day my little dog  
Will read your memoirs' rich prose.

(Translated by Roman Olesnicki)

Since then many things have changed, and for the worse. A New Freeze began...

Poets and Writers are not only asked to write according to the "New" Party line, they must also discard and castigate what they have written before. Some of them refuse and answer new challenge with a proved argument: silence... But the Party presses and insists:

"Public admissions should also be made by I. Svitlychny, Ye. Sverstyuk, O. Stavytsky and other critics stating that they are aware of their mistakes and are correcting them, viewing the literary process from the position of the Party and people...

It was decided to reorganize the work of the Party organization in the

direction of strengthening the ties of communist writers with industry and enterprises. Some writers will join primary Party organizations at the places of work. Others will be united around editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, etc. All these Party organizations will be supervised by the Party Committee of the Association of Writers. Writers whose work requires them to be directly in touch with certain industrial processes will join the Party ranks at the plants, factories, collective farms and state farms..."

(From "For the Great Truth of Communism", Literaturna Ukraina, of July 9, 1963; an editorial on the open party meeting of Kiev writers that took place on July 4, 1963.)